

**HEARINGS**  
BEFORE THE  
**COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES**  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Date July 21, 1959

COMMUNIST TRAINING OPERATIONS

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Washington, D. C.

Subcommittee of the Committee on  
Un-American Activities

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COMMUNIST TRAINING OPERATIONS

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TUESDAY, JULY 21, 1959

United States House of Representatives,  
Subcommittee of the Committee on  
Un-American Activities,

Washington, D. C.

Public Hearing

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10 a.m. in the Caucus Room, House Office Building, Washington, D. C., Hon. Francis E. Walter (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Committee members present: Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, Morgan M. Moulder of Missouri, Edwin E. Willis of Louisiana, William M. Tuck of Virginia, Donald L. Jackson of California, Gordon H. Scherer of Ohio and August E. Johansen of Michigan.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, director; and Frank Bonora, acting clerk.

Chairman Walter. The committee will be in order.

In opening these hearings on Communist training operations, I should like to make a brief background statement.

The most appalling fact of this generation is the failure of the free world to grasp the fundamental nature of communism. Communism is not just an economic system. It is not just a

political organism within the generally accepted meaning of that term. It is not just military aggression of a particular nation or group of people.

Communism involves an ideology, but it is more than an ideology. It is a dynamic system aimed at the destruction of all moral and spiritual values and of any society built on them. It is a scheme for total regimentation and control of every body and mind in a universe conceived to be exclusively governed by materialistic forces. The treacheries, bloodshed, deceit and violence of communism stem from its basic ideology, but these are perpetrated by people who are Communists and whose ultimate objective in their marauding against the free people is not conversion but conquest.

One of the basic fallacies of the free world in attempting to cope with communism is to regard it as just another form of government which can be voted in or out at the will of the citizenry. This is precisely what the Communists would have the free world believe, but the facts are otherwise.

There has never been a single country taken over by the Communists with the knowing approval of its subjects; and once in power, Communists have never relinquished control except where they were ousted by force. Communism generally follows the same basic pattern which in essence consists of first, softening up its prey by deceitful propaganda; second, subversion; and third, force.

The success of the Communist conspiracy in any of its operations is in direct ratio to the intensity of the efforts by trained, disciplined Communist agents who, compared to the number of free people, are always relatively few, though they now number a worldwide fifth column of some 33,000,000. It is no more possible for free people to coexist peacefully with these dedicated revolutionists than it is for the body to co-exist peacefully with cancer.

Many people wonder what makes a dedicated Communist. How are intelligent American citizens molded into such thoroughly committed revolutionaries that they will, as Lenin said, devote "the whole of their lives" to the Communist conspiracy?

The experience of this committee compels the conclusion that this process is not accomplished overnight. A first step is often the subtle indoctrination of students by individual Communists who are employed as teachers in non-Communist educational institutions. Beyond this, the Communist conspiracy has two principal organized training operations.

The first consists of schools, forums and courses designed to soften up and condition the students -- whether they are actually members of the party or not -- and to act as a screening or selection program in which likely material is chosen for development in the second type of Communist training operation which is for hard core, disciplined conspirators.

In this hearings which are beginning today, we will sample

activities of individual Communists engaged in teaching in non-Communist institutions, as well as each of the two types of organized Communist training operations.

The Jefferson School of Social Science, through the years, was of the first type of Communist training operation where there were taught to Communists and non-Communists alike courses which were designed to soften up and condition the students, and to develop prospective material for training as hard-core Communists.

In proceedings under the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Subversive Activities Control Board on June 30, 1955, found the Jefferson School of Social Science to be a Communist-front organization and that it, therefore, should register under the provisions of the Act.

Shortly thereafter, the Communist operation devised what looked like a very simple evasive tactic, namely, to dissolve the Jefferson School of Social Science, which they did; but it was not long before there was created with substantially the same faculty and courses a new school known as the Faculty of Social Science.

We expect in these hearings to explore this Faculty of Social Science to determine if our present investigative leads appear to be correct, namely, that for all intents and purposes the Faculty of Social Science is merely a successor to the Jefferson School of Social Science.

Now, with reference to the second type of Communist operation, namely, the training program of the hard-core cadre, in May of this year James E. Jackson, Jr., who is one of the top Communist conspirators operating in the United States, returned here from Moscow, to which he had traveled on a United States passport which was issued to him shortly after the Supreme Court struck down the power of the Secretary of State to deny passports to Communists.

Jackson's orders from the Kremlin, which have now been transmitted to the comrades in the United States, are to intensify the training of key revolutionaries in sabotage, subversion and penetration.

We have under subpoena the educational director of the Communist Party, Hyman Lumer who, we have learned from our field investigations, is now supervising the secret training programs in key centers of the nation in which select comrades are given specialized training in conspiratorial strategies and tactics.

Let there be inserted in the record at this point the resolution of the Committee on Un-American Activities, authorizing and directing the holding of these hearings, with the designation of this committee, by myself, as chairman of the full committee.

(The resolution referred to follows:)

June 2, 1959

A motion was made, seconded and unanimously carried that hearings by the Committee on Un-American Activities, or a subcommittee thereof, to be held in Washington, D. C., and at such other place or places as the Chairman may determine, on such dates as the Chairman may set, be authorized and approved, including the conduct of investigations deemed reasonably necessary by the staff in preparation therefor, relating to the following:

1. The conduct of so-called "training schools" by persons formerly connected with the operation of the Jefferson School of Social Science, required by the Subversive Activities Control Board by order of June 30, 1955 to register as a Communist front, the legislative purpose being:

(a) Consideration of an amendment to Section 301, Title 1, of the Internal Security Act of 1950, whereby the dissolution or reorganization of an organization shall not prevent the institution of proceedings under Section 13 or 13(a) of the Act, as proposed in H. R. 2232, referred to the Committee on Un-American Activities January 12, 1959.

(b) To consider amending the Internal Security Act of 1950 so as to make applicable the requirement of registration of a Communist front organization



whether or not any change is hereafter made in the name thereof.

2. The conduct of so-called "training operations" in advancement of the aims and objectives of the Communist Party and under Communist direction, control or influence, the legislative purpose being to consider amendments to the definitions of "Communist action organization" and "Communist front" as contained in the Internal Security Act of 1950.
3. The execution by the administrative agencies concerned, of the Internal Security Act of 1950, the Communist Control Act of 1954, and all other laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of the committee, the legislative purpose being to exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution of these laws, to assist the Congress in appraising the administration of such laws, and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary.
4. Any other matter within the jurisdiction of the committee which it, or any subcommittee thereof, appointed to conduct these hearings, may designate.

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June 23, 1959

TO: Mr. Richard Arens  
Staff Director  
House Committee on Un-American Activities

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the rules of this committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, consisting of Representatives Morgan M. Moulder and Donald L. Jackson, as associate members, and myself, Francis E. Walter, as chairman, to conduct hearings in Washington, D. C., Tuesday through Thursday, July 21, 22 and 23, 1959, at 10:00 a.m., on subjects under investigation by the committee and take such testimony on said days or succeeding days, as it may deem necessary.

Please make this action a matter of committee record.

If any Member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 23rd day of June 1959.

FRANCIS E. WALTER, Chairman

Committee on Un-American Activities

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Mr. Arens. May I respectfully suggest the record likewise show the presence of the members of the committee who are present and of the members of the subcommittee who are present?

(At this point Mr. Willis entered the hearing room.)

Chairman Walter. Yes. Let the record show that there are present Congressmen Willis, Jackson, Scherer and Walter.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, before calling the first witness, if it meets with the pleasure of the chairman, I should

like to cause to be incorporated into the record certain documentary material.

The first is the citation in the Guide to Subversive Organizations and Publications of the Committee on Un-American Activities of the Jefferson School of Social Science, appearing on page 49 of the Guide as revised on January 2, 1957.

Chairman Walter. That will be made a part of the record.

(The citation referred to follows:)

**Mr. Arens. The second is the order of the Subversive Activities Control Board entered on June 30, 1955, pursuant to which the Subversive Activities Control Board made a finding that the Jefferson School of Social Science was a Communist-front organization, under the provisions of the Internal Security Act.**

**That order appears on the last page of the Report of the Subversive Activities Control Board on the Jefferson School.**

**(The order referred to follows:)**

Mr. Arens. Next, if it meets with the pleasure of the committee, I should like to have the record reflect the announcement in the Communist Daily Worker of November 28, 1956 that the Jefferson School of Social Science was being closed; that is, I say, in the Communist Daily Worker of November 28, 1956, and an accompanying editorial of the same date giving an explanation -- November 29, 1956 -- gives an explanation as to why the Jefferson School was being closed.

(The announcement and editorial follow:)

Mr. Arens. I should like also to have the record at this point reflect the courses of instruction which were taught at the Jefferson School of Social Science during its last term and the instructors as reflected by the bulletin of the Jefferson School of Social Science.

(The bulletin referred to follows:)

Mr. Arens. This was in 1956.

I should like also for the record then to proceed in the chronology of events as reflected in the Communist press. We have a bulletin introducing 10 new classes in Marxist theory which came some few months after the closing of the Jefferson School of Social Science, in October-December 1956, in which the classes are outlined and instructors are outlined.

(The bulletin referred to follows:)

Mr. Arens. Then we have also two exhibits reflecting from the Communist Daily Worker a series of courses which were held shortly after the closing of the Jefferson School of Social Science in which known Communists were the teachers and in which the courses fairly well correspond to the courses appearing in the bulletin of the Jefferson School of Social Science.

(Exhibits referred to follow:)



Mr. Arens. Then we have for reference the Communist Daily Worker of September 7, 1958, announcing the creation and formation of a new school, known as the Faculty of Social Science.

We have likewise, for incorporation into the record, the bulletin announcing the creation of that school, and we have two or three exhibits showing the courses which were being taught there.

(The documents referred to follow:)

Mr. Arens. The editor of the Communist Daily Worker on April 5, 1959 has an article by-lined by himself, Benjamin J. Davis, in which he comments on the creation of the Faculty of Social Science, headed by a man whom he described as a famous Marxist scholar, and historian, Herbert Aptheker, in which is set forth the nature of the school and the courses and some of the instructors.

(The article referred to follows:)

Mr. Arens. Then we have as the last document we have from the Daily Worker we would like to have inserted into the record an article by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, whose Communist record is, of course, notorious. It appears in the Communist Daily Worker of January 31, 1959, in which she speaks of the Faculty of Social Science as an excellent beginning to revive what was best in the Jefferson School and add to it.

(The article referred to follows:)

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, after insertion of those documents into the record, we would respectfully request that there now be inserted into the record a document prepared by the research unit of the staff setting forth the Faculty of Social Science, faculty members, and their status with the Faculty of Social Science, and the status which those same instructors had with the Jefferson School of Social Science as revealed by the bulletins which have heretofore been incorporated by reference in the record.

(The document referred to follows:)

Mr. Arens. Also, Mr. Chairman, we should also like to have incorporated into the record at this point a brief resume from the public files and testimony of the Committee on Un-American Activities giving the identification of each of the instructors of the Faculty of Social Science who have, by live witnesses under oath before this committee, been identified as members of the Communist Party.

Chairman Walter. Let all documents be made a part of the record.

(The resume referred to follows:)

Mr. Arens. The first witness, if you please, will be Mr. Frank S. Meyer.

Kindly come forward, Mr. Meyer, and remain standing while the chairman administers an oath.

Chairman Walter. You do swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Meyer. I do.

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TESTIMONY OF FRANK S. MEYER, WOODSTOCK, NEW YORK,

EDITOR, NATIONAL REVIEW

Mr. Arens. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence and occupation.

Mr. Meyer. Frank S. Meyer. I live in Woodstock, New York. I am at present Editor of National Review and a writer.

Mr. Arens. Kindly tell the committee, Mr. Meyer, where and when you were born.

Mr. Meyer. I was born in Newark, New Jersey, May 9, 1909.

Mr. Arens. And give us a word, please, sir, respecting your education.

Mr. Meyer. I went to Newark Academy, then to Princeton, spent a year and a half at Princeton; went to England, where I took my degree at Oxford University, Oxford University, and then did, at various times, graduate work at the London School of Economics and the University of Chicago.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Meyer, have you ever been a member of the

Communist Party?

Mr. Meyer. I have.

Mr. Arens. Would you kindly now, at your own pace, proceed to highlight for the committee your career in the Communist Party?

Mr. Meyer. I joined the Communist Party while I was at Oxford.

Mr. Arens. What year, please, sir?

Mr. Meyer. 1931, late. 1931-32, that winter.

I was president of a Communist club at Oxford called the October Club. I then went to London to study the next year, the next two years, during which time I was secretary of the Student Bureau of the Communist Party of Great Britain and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Great Britain.

I was involved in various activities which led to my permission to remain in Great Britain being removed by the government. I then was in Paris for about three or four months, working with various Communist organizations, primarily the International Committee Against War and Fascism.

I came back to the United States and, over a period of years, I was active mainly in Chicago, in Illinois, Indiana -- in the Illinois-Indiana District of the Communist Party, where I was director of the Chicago Workers School, educational director of the Illinois-Indiana District, in various

organizational works in the Illinois-Indiana District, and during that time I wrote fairly frequently for the Communist theoretical organ, then known as The Communist, and various other writings in Communist papers, and miscellaneous organizational work.

I entered the Army in 1942, spent nine months there. I had some difficulty with my feet on the basis of which I left finally, and had two operations on my feet which kept me in isolation from all activity for about a year. During that time I was moving very rapidly toward leaving the party. Perhaps I wasn't as aware of it myself, as events showed.

My final break with the party came in 1945. During that last year, I taught at the Jefferson School and did various writings around New York.

Mr. Arens. Have you, since your disassociation from the formal entity known as the Communist Party, maintained a continuing interest in studying the machinations of the international Communist conspiracy and of the operation of the Communist conspiracy in the United States?

Mr. Meyer. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Meyer, based upon your background and experience in the Communist Party, could you express to this committee what factors led to the successes which the Communist operation have had over the world in the course of the last generation?



Mr. Meyer. I would, myself, say that the major factor has been that at the time when the West and the United States have, to a very large degree, lost the hard faith in their ancient heritage, when our schools and our society are teaching a relativism that eats away at the great traditions of the West and of American freedom, on the other hand the Communists and the Communist movement stand for their evil cause determined, deeply convinced, and fired with a zeal which we have not been able to match because of lack of will and understanding of the greatness which we have and which we should be fighting for.

Mr. Arens. How serious is the Communist operation based upon your background and experience in the operation, and as a student of communism? How serious is the Communist movement now, at this instant?

Mr. Meyer. As serious as it is conceivable to think of it. The only way it would be more serious is if it had already conquered the whole world, instead of merely two-thirds of it.

Mr. Arens. Who is winning the struggle now as between international communism and the forces of freedom?

Mr. Meyer. All one has to do to answer that question is to look at the record of the last 13 or 14 years, in which most of the continent of Asia, except for the subcontinent of India and a few peninsulas, like Korea, in which all of the European land mass except a small western area, have

fallen to the Communists, in which they have penetrated within the last few years the Middle East and ancient Russian Czarists dreamed they could never achieve that, leapfrogging, openly, and getting firm foundations in Syria, Egypt and throughout the Middle East, and have now, in recent months, entered the Caribbean and established a platform, a foundation for their military and political might in the Island of Cuba.

In other words, my answer is that we have not won a major victory in the cold war in the years since World War II, and will not win one until we are prepared to reject the position that we are on the defensive; that, after all, we can learn to live with these people, and take the aggressive.

(At this point Mr. Johansen entered the hearing room.)

Mr. Arens. Is coexistence with the Communist empire, peaceful coexistence, possible?

Mr. Meyer. Only on their terms, and their terms mean a gradual surrender, until such a point that we have been sufficiently softened and sufficiently weakened to make a final and complete surrender or a final and desperate fight.

Mr. Arens. What is the situation with respect to the Communist Party in the United States and the Communist operation? It is common knowledge that the formal entity known as the Communist Party has been reduced in size.

Would you comment upon the comparative threat of the Communist operation in view of that fact?

(At this point Mr. Tuck entered the hearing room.)

Mr. Meyer. I would say that when one is speaking of communism and Communists, the best definition of the Communist is not necessarily one who holds a card in a formal membership roll of the Communist Party, but should be defined as anyone who accepts Communist discipline and lives by it, and that means, of course, the members of the Communist Party as officially defined, and it also means a considerable number of other people who, for one reason or another, are not formal members on membership rolls, et cetera.

Therefore, what one is really asking about here is the hard core, the cadre, as the Communists call it, using an old military term, of the Communist operation. There seems to me to be, just observing things over the course of many years, a cyclical phenomenon in the growth and development of the Communist Parties.

During periods when things are friendly towards them, when there are peoples' fronts, democratic fronts, war alliance situations, and they can operate freely and openly, a large number of people are attracted and become formal members of the Communist Party.

But the very act of becoming a formal member of the Communist Party is the beginning of becoming a Communist, not the end. It is the first step toward the hardening toward a real Communist.

In the course of a number of years, things get tougher. This happens over and over again. The line changes. In 1936 and 1937, the Communist Party was all for democracy and was flourishing and flourishing out.

In 1939 came the Hitler pact and it was under pressure for a while. Then in the wartime alliance, it blossomed again, in the late 1940's it was under attack again. During these changes, people who come in during the flourishing, open, easy period are, as it were, squeezed out by the difficulties of a hard period, leaving behind only the best, only the strongest, only the best trained.

Therefore, I would say that the end of a tough period, and for the Communist Party of the United States I would say it is in the sun of coexistence emerging in a warm spring from a cold winter, that at the end of one of the tough periods the Communist Party is like a boxer the night before a heavyweight championship bout. There isn't an ounce of fat on it. Its numbers include no one but the strongest, best and firmest.

It is ready to expand again, drawing in more and repeating the process. Therefore, I should say that the Communist Party of the United States, despite the fact that its numbers are, by percentage, considerably below 1945 membership or 1946 membership, is strong, lithe, and determined.

Mr. Arens. Are there Communists who are not members of the Communist Party?

Mr. Meyer. In the sense of men under Communist discipline who are not members of the Communist Party, yes.

Mr. Arens. Now, sir, the chairman announced in his opening statement that the scope of this inquiry was to encompass Communist training operations. Based upon your background and experience in the educational field of the Communist operation, can you tell us the scope of the Communist educational work?

Mr. Meyer. I think the first thing I ought to say is that the words "educational work" -- I will put it this way:

To understand what Communist educational facilities consist of, it is necessary to break ourselves loose from the ordinary conceptions of an organization, no matter how large and how all-embracing in its educational program. This is not merely a matter of spreading to the members and people beyond the members a set of principles held, or of arguing for them, or propagandizing them, or agitating for them.

This is primarily, its major purpose: to mold, train, transform the whole man. There are really, in Communist educational activities, two sections:

(1) That part devoted towards external activity, toward propaganda, agitation, raising of issues for Communist purposes.

The whole broad level of newspapers, leaflets, publications, mass meetings, radio and television, not largely done

directly as under the name and auspices of the party, but the influencing of this kind of thing done by openly non-Communists, or by actual Communists in many cases, an entire complex operation of affecting sources of information. This is one side of the problem.

(At this point Messrs. Tuck and Willis withdrew from the hearing room.)

Mr. Meyer. The second aspect of the problem of Communist education, the part that you are here mainly concerned with, from the chairman's statement, is the task of taking people who have been attracted towards the Communist movement and making hard-core Communists of them.

I would say that this second operation has three parts. The first part of it goes along with the public agitation and propaganda. It is the bringing of people towards the party, getting them in a position where they will become interested, where they can be brought into greater control and more of an operation performed on them.

This is largely done by the methods I have already discussed, of the public agitation and propaganda, and by forums, classes conducted in people's houses, open schools, such as the Jefferson School was.

The second aspect is the earlier stages of the molding, the making of a core Communist out of those who have already joined the party formally or have come under their discipline

informally.

Mr. Arens. Can you give us from your own experience, sir, an illustration of each of these types of training or educational work?

Mr. Meyer. May I first add the third phase for completeness?

Mr. Arens. Certainly.

Mr. Meyer. The third phase is the -- it is what the party calls inner-party training schools, full-time schools of various kinds and lengths held specifically for the purpose of putting a final hardness, understanding from the party's point of view, toughness, on the Communist who is already approaching top leadership positions.

Of the three I mentioned, examples would be in the common category, the drawing of people toward the party. I think any issue of the Daily Worker that you open you will find advertised forums, clubs, lectures, places which are current and popular issues of one sort or another, which will bring people who might be interested in that issue forward.

Also, a Communist Party member will hold in his home a class or discussion group, which gets a number of neighbors or friends he has met, or people he has worked with in activities of various kinds. Also, such schools as the Jefferson School itself have as one part of their activity a whole group of courses devoted toward bringing in peripherally

interested people. That is the first type.

The second type of the beginning of the training of Communists, new Communists, is conducted in a number of ways. First, every Communist Party meeting has an educational section, a portion of its agenda devoted to educational discussion.

A widespread series of classes are held within the party in a section or a district for newer party members. Thirdly, in schools of the Jefferson School type, one of the functions of those schools is to conduct classes that can be utilized for this purpose, for the first stage of training of the party members.

The third type of training consists of a network of schools, full-time party schools, from the local level, section schools, through district schools, to national schools, and finally to the international schools that have been run over the years under various names by the international Communist movement.

Mr. Arens. What are taught there, and who are taught, and why?

Mr. Meyer. The curriculum, as it were, of those schools, is important, but I would say secondary. What is mainly done is to put students, that is to say Communists who have already largely proved themselves to the party as excellent material for top leadership and for final core hardening, into an atmosphere for two weeks, four weeks, six weeks, on a local



and district scale, up to six months, a year, two years, on a national and international scale, such an atmosphere that every act and thought of their lives during that period will be considered by their teachers, and by their co-students in terms of their absolute devotion to Marxism-Leninism, to communism, in terms of a constant scrutiny to see if there are any remnants of what the party calls "bourgeois influences," bourgeois ideas, that is to say, if there are any remnants deep in their soul of a western belief in truth, in a fundamental spiritual heritage, in a methodological or personal approach other than that of complete devotion to the Communist theoretical and practical position, which means that under the circumstances of such schools, apart from the formal classes and formal discussions, activities from casual conversation at lunch to things written for a school newspaper, to odd remarks made in a recreation period, all of them become grist for self-criticism sessions, for grueling consideration under the supervision of instructor, director and fellow-students of what they meant by saying this, what it means, how it comes down to some remnant of an idea which does not fit the Marxism-Leninism corpus.

So what is in the Communist Party generally a continuing process of training in the sense that in any activity, mistakes, errors, things done incorrectly from the party's point of view, are analyzed not merely as a mistake made, but what is the

wrong in the Marxist-Leninist understanding that made the man do it, so in these schools the whole process is crystalized, compacted, into a something very much like the novitiate of an order, in which immense pressure and discipline is placed for a period of time upon the person until he either breaks under the string and is clearly seen not to be Communist leadership material, or has become a Communist man.

Mr. Arens. What is the objective of the operation in training people in this life of discipline and obedience to the Communist?

Mr. Meyer. The world revolution. The conquest of world power by the Communist movement, which is to say by its power.

Mr. Arens. What is the objective of the world Communist movement?

Mr. Meyer. The establishment of a world in which the Communist Party and the state, the international state, which it is establishing, or which it looks forward to establishing, which is indistinguishable from the party as the Communist state in Russia is from the Communist Party in Russia, will have total power over the lives and activities of every citizen, in which the Marxist-Leninist, materialist philosophy will be a totalitarian monopoly of thought, in which the person will be, the individual person will be, but a cell in a larger entity, the state, the Communist society, which becomes an end in itself.

It is true, and I should state this for the record, that Marxist theory speaks of an indefinable distant period when, because men have learned so much under the discipline of such a state, to act as non-individuals, the state, itself, will wither away and there will be a classless, stateless society.

Actually, what they look forward to here is a conditioning so extreme that the human race could be transformed into an ant hill, in which there would not be needed a state, in which society would so dominate the individual will and thought of men that force would not be necessary.

I do not think that this can ever be achieved, because I think that human beings are born with souls that will resist it. Therefore, I don't think the Communist state will ever wither away.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Meyer, I expect in a few moments to interrogate you specifically with reference to your own experiences in these training schools, and more particularly with reference to the Jefferson School, which we feel appears to be a predecessor of the Faculty of Social Science.

Before doing so, I should like to ask you one or two other general questions.

Based upon your background and experience in the Communist movement, in the top flight echelon, are we engaged in a popularity contest with the Communist economic system?

Mr. Meyer. Our leaders seem to think we are.

Mr. Arens. What is the nature of the struggle today?

Mr. Meyer. The true nature of the struggle today is a desperate fight for existence on the part of the areas remaining free in the world, one which can only be solved as long as communism remains communism by their total and absolute defeat in war.

There is absolutely no possibility of defeating communism except by war, subversive or open, total or partial. I am not a strategist, and I am not proposing the strategy of that war, but that that war is going on day in, day out, constantly.

Mr. Arens. Does Khrushchev profess that the Soviet Union is for peace?

Mr. Meyer. Yes, he professes it in a certain way. But if one carefully reads his serious theoretical statements, both at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union a few years ago, and more recently, it is very clear that the peace that he professes is the peace of surrender by the free world and of Communist victory.

Actually, all he has said is that "because of the growing weakness of the Communist countries, and because of the growing strength of the Soviet Union, it is possible that we will conquer them without having to have a final, all-out war."

That is the extent and limit of Khrushchev's peace gestures, that is the extent and limit of his peace sentiments.

Mr. Arens. Is there a basis upon which the free world

can negotiate with the Communist empire?

Mr. Meyer. The question that I would raise is a prior one: What is there to negotiate? The terms of our surrender or the terms of theirs? The only basis which I can see that would make possible negotiation with the Communists would be the kind of negotiations that might occur in the field between the generals of two armies after a battle in which one or the other had won. I do not know what we are negotiating about.

Let me just take the present example, since you asked that question. Khrushchev gave us a brutal ultimatum some eight months ago. Any country recognizing the character of its enemy, and receiving such an ultimatum, should have replied to it in the only honorable way, by totally and absolutely ignoring it and saying, "If you wish us to leave Berlin, you will have to throw us out, and if you throw us out, that means total and general war with the United States and all of its allies."

Instead, we are negotiating. But what are we negotiating? As far as I can see, the only issue that the Communists are prepared to negotiate, two possibilities, either the terms of our withdrawal from Berlin, under some face-saving device, or generously to allow us to stay in Berlin while they extract secretly and privately some terrific concession about the Middle East or about the non-armament of Western Germany or

something of that sort.

I want to come back to your question. I see no basis for negotiation between two civilizations, one of which must die if the other is to live, and the reason I say that the other must die if we are to live is that of their very essence, the very essence of their being, it is that we must die if they are to live. This is not, I think, a negotiable matter.

Mr. Arens. Now, Mr. Meyer, before we come to the experience you have had in training schools of the hard core, as well as in the Jefferson School, give us just a word, if you please, sir, about the mental processes and spiritual processes through which you went when you disassociated yourself from the Communist movement as a hard-core, dedicated leader and instructor in this conspiracy.

Mr. Meyer. I think the key problem here was this: To what I had regarded as a good, I had devoted my whole life and energies, and, more than that, for the sake of that good I had done many things that my previous training had told me were evil, all sorts of varieties of activities that were good from a Communist point of view, because for a Communist everything or anything which forwards the world revolution, the interest of the Communist Party, is good.

Now, to maintain that sort of life, that kind of moral tension, you have to be absolutely and totally convinced of the good of the end toward which you are striving.

This is a whole fabric. It is like a balloon that if you prick it in one spot, the whole thing will blow up, and for a series of reasons too complicated to go into here, in the later years of the war doubts began to enter my mind.

The process then was for me, and I think it is for anyone who breaks from the party at this level, one of a terrific effort to sew up the doubts, and once you start trying to do that, the doubts begin to sprout all over the place, until events, your own activities and so on, bring you to a point at which you break your formal connection with the Communist movement. But this, I think, is only the beginning of the Communist.

Mr. Arens. While you were in the Communist movement, were you a theist?

Mr. Meyer. No. I was an athiest. No one can be a hard-core Communist without being not only an atheist, but a strong and convinced atheist.

Mr. Arens. In your process of the re-evaluation of the Communist movement, did you acquire a faith in God to supplement or to take the place of the faith that you previously had as a dedicated materialist, atheist?

Mr. Meyer. Yes, although this is a late stage in the process. I said after the formal breach with the party it became necessary for me to work my way backward through a whole set of ideas that had led me to where I was. It means, first,

a criticism and rejection of the whole Leninist position; then of the whole Marxist position, and that brings one face to face with the basic problem of materialism.

I think some people have gone through this process, and very honorably, and very excellent enemies of communism have stopped somewhere along this process and have not thought out their position as yet. But as for myself, I think the Communist issue is not an economic issue, not a social issue. The Communist issue is essentially, I would say, summed up in a statement of Marx, when of the so-called thesis on Feuerbach, Comments on a German Philosopher, he said "Philosophers have previously thought about the world and interpreted it in various ways. It is up to us to change it."

I think the Communist position "being up to us to change it" is putting man in the place of God and, therefore, in the end the Communist question is the question of God or man. This, at least for me, was the road I took, and I am a convinced theist at this point.

Mr. Arens. Now, sir, would you kindly give us a word in passing about your experiences as an instructor in the Workers School in Chicago; then a word about your experiences in the training of the hard-core, these revolutionists you have alluded to; and then we will move over to the Jefferson School of Social Science.

Mr. Jackson. Mr. Chairman, may I interpose one brief



question having to do with the term of Communist discipline, which we on the committee have heard many times?

How complete, how all-embracing is Communist discipline? Is there any variance in the implementation of that discipline, let us say, as between a branch or a section or in one of the schools, such as the Jefferson School of Social Science?

Mr. Meyer: I would put it this way: The ideal Communist is totally disciplined, disciplined in every element and active element of his life, from his private life to his public life activities.

The Communists achieve an idea, to a greater or lesser degree, depending on their strength of character and personality, and to a degree the higher they rise in the movement, the more disciplined they have become.

I will put it this way: A Communist working at a low level, in a branch, for example, or some teacher in an unimportant school situation, will be able to continue as a Communist when he is imperfectly disciplined unless the breach of discipline concerned touches some key point of importance for the party.

The higher in the movement the more every act is scrutinized and every act becomes vital and essential. The idealist preaches of complete discipline at all times and it is enforced at the lower level to the degree that it is necessary, and to the degree that it helps to train the people

concerned. At the higher levels, more and more and more, until a top-level Communist who, even on a minor matter, makes a serious breach, not only of discipline laid down for him, but of discipline he should have known for himself, is in very serious trouble.

Mr. Johansen. Pursuing that point just one step further, what is the ultimate source? Where does there reside the ultimate source of authority as between what is authentic and right in the Communist sense as doctrine or discipline?

Mr. Meyer. Theoretically, of course, the party will say the doctrines of Marxism-Leninism give the guide, and the best Marxist-Leninists interpret. The best Marxist-Leninists, by definition, are the higher Communist authorities.

So if you have a dispute at a branch level, it is the section organizer, and if the section organizer has a dispute it is the district organizer, the national secretary, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Central Union, the Political Bureau of the Communist Party, and finally No. 1, whoever he may be.

It is necessary, when you have a secular doctrine, a secular religion, almost, with a set of principles that have to be interpreted if you want to maintain unity, that somewhere there is somebody who makes the decision, and that, in practice, has always meant the Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. First Stalin and now Khrushchev.

Chairman Walter. I think this would be a good point for a recess.

We will take a recess of five minutes.

(A short recess was taken, with the following members of the subcommittee present: Chairman Walter and Messrs. Jackson, Scherer and Johansen.)

(At the expiration of the recess the following members of the subcommittee were present: Chairman Walter and Messrs. Jackson and Scherer.)

Chairman Walter. The committee will be in order.

You may proceed, Mr. Arens.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Meyer, would you now recount for us the highlights of your experiences in teaching in the Workers School, and in the training schools, training programs of the hard core? Then we will get into the Jefferson School in a few moments.

Mr. Meyer. I was responsible, which is a party word for "in charge of" for the entire educational activity of the Illinois-Indiana District during the years from about 1937 to 1941. At a previous time I did some educational work on a section level and the last year I was in Chicago I was primarily in organizational work, but maintained contact with the whole educational apparatus.

I also was simultaneously director of the Chicago Workers School. Perhaps I should take the Workers School first.

Mr. Arens. Yes, sir. We want just the highlights, if you please, sir.

Mr. Meyer. Right.

The Workers School is a predecessor to the Jefferson-type school, and Chicago later had the Lincoln School, which was the Jefferson type, somewhat narrower, somewhat more directed to people who are members of the party, but essentially the same function as the Jefferson School, that is, training in theoretical matters of a Communist kind, at the same time, for Communist and non-Communists who were close to the party.

But most important of the activities were party activities as such. Let me say I was in charge of that entire gamut of activity outlined a little earlier in my testimony.

Mr. Arens. Can you tell us some of your experiences, just a few of your typical experiences, in training the hard core in these secret sessions?

Mr. Meyer. In training the hard core, and I will take a typical school, a six-weeks' school, the students are picked very carefully in consultation with the district leadership of the party.

Arrangements are made for them to leave any activities that they may have. They can be held in a camp, let's say; let's take a single one, in one of the camps under party supervision, where a whole area is put aside. The students are brought in, and a series of courses which seem to be similar

in general outlook all the way from the shortest to the longest school are taught, courses in political economy, Marxism-Leninism, strategy and tactics, party organization, and whatever the issues at the moment are in the broader world outside the party.

But the real aim of the school, and as a director of such a school or supervisor and director of such a school, it is constantly in mind, is to not really to theoretically train during this period, but to test in various ways the caliber, breaking point, ability to accept discipline, of the students concerned.

This is done in a number of ways, but primarily the teachers of the school, the director, have constant daily discussions of the character, development, et cetera, of the students under their domination, under their supervision.

Mr. Arens. Now would you kindly give us a word about your experience in the Faculty of Social Science? Then I want to display -- in the Jefferson School of Social Science. Then I want to display to you a chart which we have prepared listing the instructors in the Faculty of Social Science who have also been instructors in the Jefferson School of Social Science and undertake to elicit from you your comments respecting them.

Would you now proceed to give us a word about the Jefferson School of Social Science with particular reference to your experience?

Mr. Meyer. Right.

I taught at the Jefferson School the last year I was in the party, after the operations I spoke of, and during the period just before I broke. I taught some of the hard-core courses.

The names used have varied from one school to another and from one time to another, but essentially the course is in principles of Marxism-Leninism. I believe they were called principles of scientific socialism or something.

I also participated in a group of instructors of these hard-core courses which worked out the curriculum and methods in these courses. The Jefferson School itself, apart from my own experience, was the school of the kind I discussed earlier.

Mr. Arens. Was it controlled lock, stock and barrel by the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. Meyer. Lock, stock and barrel.

Mr. Arens. Now, sir, I should like to display to you a copy of an exhibit which is already incorporated by reference in this record, I believe it is Exhibit No. 16, a chart which our staff has prepared, entitled "Faculty of Social Science, New York."

In the first column appear the names of the instructors of the Faculty of Social Science as taken from the bulletin which they have issued. In the next column appear the

lecturers or instructors of the Marxist forum held at Adelphi Hall in New York City. In the next column appear the instructors of the Jefferson School of Social Science. In the next column of the School For Democracy; next column of the New York Workers School. Finally, a column indicating those who have been identified by live witnesses under oath as members of the Communist Party.

Would you, based upon your background and experience, and knowledge of techniques and strategies of the Communist Party, knowledge of individual Communists, glance at the first column there and tell us who, to your certain knowledge, were instructors in the Jefferson School of Social Science who are likewise instructors at the Faculty of Social Science, and who likewise, to your certain knowledge, were members of the Communist operation?

Mr. Meyer. One part of that question is I know nothing about the Faculty of Social Science faculty. I only have your listing here. Do you wish me to read that?

Mr. Arens. If you please, sir.

Mr. Meyer. That is not to my personal knowledge.

Mr. Arens. Herbert Aptheker is listed in the bulletin of the Faculty of Social Science as director of the Faculty of Social Science. He was likewise a director of the Jefferson School of Social Science.

What information do you have, if any respecting him?

Mr. Meyer. A member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Arens. Was he, to your knowledge, an instructor at the Jefferson School of Social Science?

Mr. Meyer. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Can you give us a word about his function as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Meyer. Primarily, in my experience of him, a writer of materials and a teacher in the Communist courses, et cetera.

Mr. Arens. Harold Collins is listed in the bulletin of the Faculty of Social Science as secretary of that school. He, according to the bulletin of the Jefferson School of Social Science, was an instructor and a chairman of Marxist Institute.

Do you have any information respecting him?

Mr. Meyer. In the period that I was at Jefferson School, he was an instructor, one of the inner-core of instructors and a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. Arens. The next person to whom I should direct your attention is Meyer Weise, listed in the bulletin of the Faculty of Social Science as an instructor, listed likewise in the bulletin of the Jefferson School of Social Science as an instructor.

What information do you have, if any, respecting him?

Mr. Meyer. I don't remember him.

Mr. Arens. Perhaps we could proceed with a little greater dispatch if you would go down the list and then the first one



whose name you recognize, stop us and we will proceed from there.

Mr. Meyer. Irving Potash I knew from general party activity as a member of the Communist Party and a member of its Central Committee and Bureau.

Mr. Arens. He is listed as an instructor at the Faculty of Social Science?

Mr. Meyer. Yes.

Howard Selsam I knew as a member of the Communist Party, as director of the Jefferson School. He is here listed as an instructor on the Faculty of Social Science.

Phillip Foner, listed here as a lecturer at the Faculty of Social Science, I knew as a member of the Communist Party and as an instructor at the Jefferson School.

Sidney Finkelstein is here listed as an instructor at the Faculty of Social Science. I did not know him personally. I knew he was an instructor at the Jefferson School and certainly very close to the party. As a matter of fact, a manuscript he once wrote was given to V. J. Jerome, the party's National Educational Director, who asked me to read it for him for party censorship. So I assume he was a member of the party, but I didn't know him.

Henry Klein, I don't recognize the name.

You want me to leave out the names I don't recognize?

Mr. Arens. If you please.

Mr. Meyer. Louis Weinstock I knew in general party activity as a member of the Communist Party and an active one.

Alice Jerome I knew first in Chicago as an active member of the Communist Party, active primarily in the theater group of the party. She is listed here as SCOPE of the Faculty of Social Science. I don't know what that means. As I say, I knew her as a member of the party in Chicago before, in the 1930's.

Henry Black I knew slightly. He is listed as librarian at the Faculty of Social Science. He was librarian of the Jefferson School of Social Science. I have no personal knowledge of his party membership.

Joseph North I knew in general party activity. He is listed here as lecturer on the Faculty of Social Science. He taught classes at Jefferson School. He was editor of the Sunday Worker, editor of the New Masses, member of the Communist Party.

Harry Wells -- I have only a vague recollection of him.

William Patterson I knew very well in Chicago as a leading member of the Chicago District membership of the Chicago party. He was one time assistant editor of the Daily Record in Chicago, a Communist newspaper, and later district bureau member in Chicago. He is listed here as member of the Faculty of Social Science.

Arnold Johnson I have known as an active leader of the Communist Party. I see that he is listed as an instructor at

Jefferson School. I don't remember him there. He is listed as a lecturer on the Faculty of Social Science. He has been in top leadership of the party for many years.

Victor Perlo I don't know, only what I read in the newspapers. I don't know him personally.

Doxey Wilkerson I knew as a member of the Communist Party back as far as the mid-1930's, when he was active in the national leadership of the Teachers Union, and underground Communist Party member, and I knew him as an instructor at the Jefferson School. He is listed here as a lecturer at the Faculty of Social Science. I think that completes my personal knowledge.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Meyer, I display to you now an exhibit which has heretofore been incorporated in this record by reference, Exhibit No. 13, which lists the courses of instruction at the Faculty of Social Science and the instructors.

Would you glance your eye at the courses of instruction, and based upon your background and experience as a Communist instructor kindly give us your appraisal of these courses?

Mr. Meyer. I would say, glancing at them fairly rapidly, that they follow the same pattern that the courses in Communist Party open schools from the days of the Workers Schools right through the Jefferson School until now have always followed, courses in political economy. First, the core courses. Courses in political economy, in Marxist capital, in United States history, taught from a Marxist point of view, in elements of

Marxism, essentially a course in Marxism-Leninism on a simple level.

Then a second set of courses, such as philosophy of history, Marxist philosophy for more advanced students, and then the more popular courses, which I have spoken of as attempting to draw people towards the movement, such courses as the social view of painting, the national liberation struggles, the world today, still taught by Harold Collins, I see, who also taught a similar course at the Jefferson School; socialism and capitalism today. Courses designed toward bringing in people with certain interests, and perhaps not as deeply theoretical as some of the core courses I think of. The general pattern seems to be very similar, glancing at them.

Mr. Jackson. I notice tuition fees.

Mr. Meyer. Tuition fees were always charged in these schools. They were to a large degree self-supporting. Not entirely, as the party had to in various ways subsidize. But as much was raised as could be.

Mr. Jackson. I assume there were certain scholarships.

Mr. Meyer. Plenty of scholarships, yes, through party units or to trade unions or any other groups of that sort that would use them.

Mr. Jackson. Were their necessary living expenses also taken care of?

Mr. Meyer. The Jefferson School are evening schools; that

is, you go to two courses a week or three courses a week. In the party inner schools, of course, they were totally paid for by the party and totally taken care of.

Mr. Arens. Based upon your background and experience in the Communist Party, and the information you have acquired respecting the Communists who are instructors at the Faculty of Social Science and the courses which are taught at the Faculty of Social Science, do you have a judgment as to whether or not the Faculty of Social Science is a Communist operation?

Mr. Meyer. On every bit of evidence available to me, I would say it definitely is a Communist operation. It looks exactly like similar Communist operations have always looked, and seems to be a lineal descendant of a long line of ancestors, all Communist operated and controlled.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, we have no further questions of this witness, if you please, sir.

Chairman Walter. Are there any questions?

Mr. Jackson. I have no questions, but I should like to make a general observation.

Certainly the testimony of Mr. Meyer impresses me as being among the most compelling I have heard since I have been a member of the committee. Thank you.

Mr. Scherer. Mr. Meyer, in the forepart of your testimony I believe you said that today the Communists dominate about two-thirds of the globe, did you not?

Mr. Meyer. A rough guess; yes.

Mr. Scherer. And that considerable progress towards that end has taken place in the last 12 to 13 years?

Mr. Meyer. Yes.

Mr. Scherer. The United States has been engaged in a tremendous foreign aid program over that same period for the purpose, principally, of stopping the onrush of communism throughout the world. How effective has our foreign aid program been?

Mr. Meyer. In my opinion, the only part of our foreign aid program that has been effective is military and quasi-military aid to the few countries that have shown a real desire to fight and to defend themselves. I think the rest of it is so much waste energy.

Mr. Scherer. Why?

Mr. Meyer. For this reason: The Communist issue is not a belly issue. It isn't a question of poverty versus plenty. It is a question of ideas. Our aid program cannot rescue backward countries from Communist ideas for one simple reason. There are only two ways in which a backward country can become an advanced, industrial country. Both ways require the accumulation of capital. The one way is through the American and Western European way, which takes a little time, requires sacrifices, and also allowing people to make profits, if they have the energy and the ability to advance production.

The other way is to grind the initial capital out of the faces of the poor and of the people by Communist terror methods. Our foreign aid cannot impart a belief in the principles of freedom that lead to a free economy. It can, therefore, only be utilized to lay the foundation, since we do it through governments and through states, of a socialist type of economic organization.

It seems to me that it has, in this sense, no function whatever except in the sense of aiding peoples who are already determined to fight and who need arms and strengthening of their armed forces through peripheral economic aid.

Mr. Scherer. When one of these backward countries is flipped, as we might say, suddenly into the Communist orbit from the Western orbit, do the people have anything to say about it, or is that done by a few people at the top that control them?

Mr. Meyer. It is inevitably done by a small group of people, particularly in the so-called backward countries, which have no depth of democratic institutions.

Mr. Scherer. Then it wouldn't make much difference how much foreign aid we had given to these people in order that they might feel favorably to the West, would it, if that is the process that takes place?

Mr. Meyer. Not only that, but I doubt very much if anybody feels favorably towards you if they get a handout from you

anyway.

Mr. Scherer. Let me ask you one more question.

Can we fight this Communist menace by the cultural exchange programs that have been going on and accelerating in the last few years?

Mr. Meyer. In my personal opinion -- well, referring back to what I said a little earlier about the manifold Communist Party educational activities, I would say it must be a great relief to the Communist educational apparatus to no longer even have to pay any attention or worry about one whole section of its work, because that section of its work, the popularizing of the Soviet Union and of its great achievements, is being done for them under the auspices of the highest offices in the United States, in great expositions in New York and elsewhere, Moscow.

The fact of the matter is that even supposing that our exhibitions in Moscow did influence in our behalf a considerable number of citizens of the Soviet Union, the only net result would be to increase the population of the slave labor camps.

Nothing we do in Russia can do more than incline a few people towards us that will be promptly removed; whereas, the whole softening up aspect, the most forward aspects of Communist education in the capitalist countries, putting forward a favorable opinion of the Soviet Union and a favorable opinion



of their slave society is carried on now under the aegis of the Government of the United States, and it really is a shame.

Mr. Scherer. What effect does our participation in some of the other conferences have upon the people behind the Iron Curtain who may not be dedicated Communists? What effect would that have?

Mr. Meyer. I would think its effect would be, and I think there is evidence in people I have spoken to and in books I have read to this effect, that it makes them feel they might as well find some way of making their peace with communism, because we are not going to help them.

I take it by conferences you mean negotiations of the kind that are going on now.

Mr. Scherer. Yes. Where we meet with them.

Mr. Meyer. Meet with them and shake hands and talk and talk and talk.

Mr. Scherer. And have pictures taken. Do they use that as propaganda?

Mr. Meyer. Constantly.

Mr. Scherer. For what purpose do they use that propaganda?

Mr. Scherer. Essentially to weaken the will to resist, and to say to the people that they use it on, "The United States is obviously co-existing with us, so you are stuck."

Co-existence, in fact, the very idea of co-existence, can only mean to a person living under Communist rule, that you are

stuck with it for the rest of your life.

Mr. Scherer. Thank you very much.

Mr. Johansen. Mr. Chairman, I want also to commend the very lucid and informative testimony.

I do want to ask just one question which is elemental and perhaps even naive. It is a question that a great many of our fellow citizens ask us. I refer now particularly to Americans.

Why do people become Communists? Is it an idealistic appeal? What are the bases or facts?

Mr. Meyer. In my personal experience, and my judgment, most Americans, Englishmen, let us say, Westerners of the most advanced Western nations who have become Communists, become so for idealistic reasons.

I would say the only furtherance that can be made is if they can become Communists for idealistic reasons and they do, there is something deeply wrong with the education in the broadest sense that Western society is today giving to its young people in the traditions and heritage of the West.

I think that thing which is wrong is not a matter of lack of special courses about this or that, but a deep underlying relativism that permeates our intellectual world and is ashamed, afraid or too weak or intellectually too weak to stand up for, grasp and understand and carry on the immense tradition of freedom and religion of Western civilization and

of our Founding Fathers.

Mr. Johansen. I thank you very much.

Chairman Walter. Mr. Meyer, I do not want to belabor the point, but I am inclined to agree with you that people become Communists because they are idealists, but the thing that I could never understand is how a person who is an idealist could remain a Communist when he saw things like Hungary, so on and so forth.

Mr. Meyer. I think that is a very good question. I am glad you give me the opportunity to go a little further. Most people become Communists for idealistic reasons. Then they are subjected to a process which, building on that idealism, develops a toughness to all sorts of evils and horrors, until finally on an originally idealistic basis, there still gleams in one tiny corner of the personality, and you will do anything.

Therefore, every man, I suppose, has his breaking point. Somewhere along the line something will happen, or at least it has happened to many people. It is just a little too much to take. It may be a big thing or it may be a little thing.

Then suddenly the contradiction that you have just raised is apparent. Then a person ceases to be a Communist. But to many it does not seem to happen.

Chairman Walter. Is communism in any sense of the word political?

Mr. Meyer. Only secondary, I would say. Only in the

...with power. It is primarily --  
...political in the sense of an American  
...becomes an American political party accepts  
...principles and then proceeds to differ  
...these principles.

Chairman Walter. The thing that disturbs all of us is  
that there are too many people in high positions, the courts  
and so on, that speak of the Communist Party, and they speak  
of communism as being political, and any attempt that is made  
to regulate activities that we believe are disloyal is regarded  
as an attempt to interfere with political beliefs.

I am never sure whether these people are naive or whether  
they are willing tools of the conspiracy.

Mr. Meyer. Fools or knaves, one or the other, I am afraid.

Chairman Walter. You think they are one or the other?

Mr. Meyer. Political in the sense of an American political  
party, the Communist Party certainly is not. Perhaps  
the simplest thing to do would be to take the reality that  
exists in the world and declare a state of cold war with the  
Soviet Union in which case the Communist Party's right to exist  
legally would be abolished and instead of having to twist  
around the semantics in the courts, we would be facing the  
reality, which is all the guarantees of the Bill of Rights,  
all the guarantees of the Constitution are for the preservation  
of a free American society, and infiltrating enemies of

an alien organism deserve no protection except the protection of due process, which even a spy arrested in time of war deserves.

So we don't have to twist around the Bill of Rights affecting other organizations and other people for an organization of the kind for which there is no parallel in the history of civilized societies. This is an agency of an external organization, hostile to the very being, the very meaning and being, hostile to the philosophy, the religion and the way of thought of the West, and as such, is not a political party in the American sense.

Mr. Johansen. If the chairman will yield, freedom cannot be permitted to become the freedom to destroy.

Mr. Meyer. I would agree with that, to the degree that you are speaking of a serious external enemy. I think we have to be careful of little people who have ideas that may sound as if they are destroying freedom, but who are not dangerous. I think the old law, the old rule, of clear and present danger applies here. I think it is a pretty good one.

Chairman Walter. May I ask a question with respect to the activities of this committee?

From your close and intimate knowledge of the movement in the United States, has the Committee on Un-American Activities made a contribution towards reducing the activities by bringing to the people an awareness of what it is?

Mr. Meyer. I think an immeasurable service that your service has its greatest impact at different times, greater impact at one time than another. Every agency of government and the press is today blanketing; as a matter of fact, I would say that your activities today are, therefore, three times as important, a dozen times as important, because you are one of the very few areas plugging away week after week, month after month, making a record, which gives the lie to most of what is being said about the Soviet Union, about co-existence and so on.

I think this committee is of the greatest importance.

Chairman Walter. Unfortunately for some people, we have not become discouraged by the attacks made by the Communists, the fellow travelers, and the apologists. I am sure that I voice the sentiments of the entire committee when I tell you that we are deeply indebted to you for this perfectly magnificent contribution. We hope to make use of it.

Mr. Meyer. Thank you.

Mr. Scherer. His testimony is so effective that I would like to send copies to some judges.

Chairman Walter. I would like to send it not only to judges, but I would like to send it to the Association of University Professors just before they meet at their next convention where they will adopt resolutions censoring various colleges for discharging Fifth Amendment professors.

Thank you very much.

Mr. Johansen. Would the chairman agree that it might be profitably sent to the director of the United States Information Agency?

Chairman Walter. Well, I don't know whether he would understand it if we did send it.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, before calling the next witness, may I announce for the record and for the enlightenment of the committee that the director of the Faculty of Social Science, whom we wanted to be the first witness when we got into that organization -- we have been unable to serve him. It is our information that he is presently in Europe on a United States passport. Therefore, we were unable to serve him with a subpoena.

Mr. Scherer. What is his name?

Mr. Arens. Herbert Aptheker.

Mr. Scherer. He has been identified as a member of the Communist apparatus?

Mr. Arens. Yes, sir.

Chairman Walter. Call the next witness.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Harold Collins.

Chairman Walter. Mr. Collins, will you raise your right hand?

You do solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but



*Subpoena*  
*On*  
HAROLD COLLINS, 194 COLUMBIA HEIGHTS,  
BROOKLYN, NEW YORK (ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, DAVID  
REIN, WASHINGTON, D. C.)

Mr. Arens. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence and occupation.

Mr. Collins. My name is Harold Collins, C-o-l-l-i-n-s. My residence is 194 Columbia Heights, Brooklyn, New York.

With regard to my occupation, I must avail myself of the privilege afforded me by the Fifth Amendment of the Constitution and decline to answer.

Mr. Arens. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. Collins. I am.

Mr. Arens. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. Collins. I am.

Mr. Arens. Counsel, kindly identify yourself on this record.

Mr. Rein. David Rein, 711 Fourteenth Street, Northwest.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee under oath what your occupation is, you would be supplying information that might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. Collins. I do, sir.



Mr. Arens. Do you know the gentleman who preceded you to the witness stand?

Mr. Collins. I decline to answer on the grounds of the Fifth Amendment.

Mr. Arens. This gentleman took an oath a little while ago before this committee and swore that while he was a member of the Communist Party he knew you, sir, as a member of the Communist Party.

We would like to give you now an opportunity to deny that identification while you are under oath. Do you care to avail yourself of that opportunity?

Mr. Collins. I do not, sir.

Mr. Arens. Now, sir, I should like to display to you a photostatic reproduction of an article appearing in the Worker of January 18, 1959, in which an announcement is made of the opening of a school known as the Faculty of Social Science at 80 East 11th Street, New York City.

According to the Communist Daily Worker of January 18, 1959, the teaching staff is headed, and I will quote, "The teaching staff is headed by Herbert Aptheker and Harold Collins, respectively, director and secretary of the faculty, and includes among others," and then it lists a number of persons.

Now, look at this article which I now display to you. I ask this committee while you are under oath whether or not you can confirm and identify of yourself as

secretary of the Faculty of Arts, University of Chicago.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Collins. When I received the subpoena,

Mr. Rein. I wonder if we can have whatever pictures are going to be taken be taken so as not to interrupt the witness.

Mr. Collins. When I received the subpoena, I had no knowledge of the subject matter of this investigation. It has become clear from the opening statement of the chairman and from the nature of the preceding testimony that this is an investigation into the field of ideas.

The history of this committee with regard to such investigation is quite clear, is well known, not only to myself, but to many other Americans, as a history not of investigation but of the attempt to try and to punish ideas, to try and to punish ideas which are different in any sense from the ideas of the committee itself.

I will not lend myself in any way to such an effort since I believe it fundamentally violates the First Amendment of the Constitution, which guarantees certain constitutional rights, such as the right to speech, press, assembly and petition, and I will further not lend myself to any effort to supply a link in a chain of evidence that may be used against me, and, therefore, I decline to answer the question with regard to this exhibit on both the First and the Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Arens. Now, sir, kindly --

Chairman Walter. Just a minute.

We are not attempting to do any of the things that you have stated, and you know it. What we are trying to do is make some provision for amendments to the law that will make this great republic of ours able to deal adequately with the kind of subversion you teach.

We believe that you can give this committee a great deal of information that would be of assistance to us in drafting this legislation, which I hope will have some teeth in it.

Mr. Arens. Now, sir, kindly tell the committee where and when you were born.

Mr. Collins. I was born in New York City on June 7, 1911.

Mr. Arens. Kindly give us a word about your formal education.

Mr. Collins. My formal education included elementary school, high school and college education in the College of the City of New York.

Mr. Arens. And when did you complete your formal education?

Mr. Collins. My formal education was completed at the College of the City of New York in 1930.

Mr. Arens. And what degree did you receive?

Mr. Collins. I received the degree of Bachelor of Arts.

Mr. Arens. Kindly give us the principal employment

Mr. Collins. Have you completed your formal education.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Collins. I decline to answer the question with respect to employment at any period since the termination of my formal education on the constitutional privilege afforded me by the Fifth Amendment, which protects me against being compelled to be a witness against myself.

Mr. Arens. Have you been engaged in any occupation since you concluded your formal education concerning which you can tell this committee without giving information that might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Collins. I must request that that question be explained to me. I do not understand it.

Mr. Arens. Can you tell us about any employment in which you have been engaged since you completed your formal education without giving information that might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

Mr. Collins. In declining to answer that question for the grounds previously given on the Fifth Amendment, I must nevertheless assert that I do not consider my refusal as an indication of any character of any employment I ever had.

Mr. Arens. Where were you employed immediately prior to your present employment?

Mr. Collins. The same declination; the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. And in what city are you employed?

Mr. Collins. That question, again, sir?

Mr. Arens. In what city are you employed?

Mr. Collins. I decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. And in what state are you employed?

Mr. Collins. The same objection; the same grounds.

Mr. Scherer. Mr. Chairman, I think you should direct the witness to answer the question, in what state he is employed. How can that incriminate him?

Chairman Walter. You are directed to answer the question.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Collins. I continue to decline and I offer the same grounds for my declination.

Chairman Walter. You decline to answer the question of what state you are employed in on the grounds that to give any answer to that question might incriminate you?

Mr. Collins. I do, sir.

Mr. Arens. Now, sir, I lay before you a Thermo-Fax reproduction of an issue of the New Masses of May 23, 1944. An advertisement appears in this issue, "How To Win The War And Win The Peace," in which the reader is urged to attend sessions of a School of Social Science, Harold Collins, secretary of the School of Social Science, to be held at the New Century Club, 154 South 15th Street, Philadelphia.

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Kindly look at this advertisement which appears in the New Masses of that issue and tell this committee whether or not you are truly and correctly characterized there as the secretary of the School of Social Science.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Collins. The same grounds as I have given previously to the answer.

Mr. Arens. I display to you, sir, a Thermo-Fax reproduction of the bulletin of the Jefferson School of Social Science, listing the courses taught and the instructors.

In this bulletin, Harold Collins is listed as an instructor of two courses. Kindly look at this document as I display it to you and tell this committee whether or not you are truly and correctly characterized there as the instructor at the Jefferson School of Social Science.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Collins. I have already given my position with regard to questions concerning matters of discussion of ideas and of educational institutions, and I decline to answer on the grounds of the First and Fifth Amendments.

Chairman Walter. I am surprised that you decline to answer with respect to educational institutions. You certainly were very quick to answer about your own education,



where you went to college and the degree you received.

I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. Collins. I continue to decline on the grounds of the First and Fifth Amendment.

Mr. Arens. Now I display to you, sir, a Thermo-Fax reproduction of a bulletin issued entitled "Introducing 10 new classes in Marxist theory and its application," Academy Hall, October-December, 1957, in which are set forth a number of courses and the instructors.

I invite your attention to the course listed on Thursday, of October 31, in which Harold Collins is listed as the instructor, in the science of Marxism, an introduction, an approach to the study of Marxist theory, its application, and the like.

Kindly look at this document which I now display to you and tell this committee whether or not you are truly and correctly identified there as the Harold Collins who was instructor on that date given in the Marxist bulletin.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Collins. I decline to answer.

Mr. Arens. Now I display to you

of the Communist Daily Worker

a feature story signed

Harold Collins.

In this article, this feature article by Harold Collins, among other language appears the following:

"And so to our third and final item, the forthcoming winter of the Faculty of Social Science is scheduled to open three weeks from now on January 19. Several hundred people attended the classes given at Adelphi Hall during the last school year, by members who have now become the faculty, and hundreds have taken part in the first fall term, at 188 East 11th Street. We started business this October."

Kindly tell the committee while you are under oath you are correctly identified as the author of that article appearing in the Communist Worker.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Collins. I decline to answer the question on the constitutional grounds of the First and Fifth Amendment.

Mr. Arens. Now I display to you a Thermo-Fax reproduction of an article from the Worker of June 21, 1959, telling about the current courses at the Faculty of Social Science, in which Harold Collins and others are listed as the instructors.

Kindly look at this document which I now display to you and tell this committee while you are under oath you are truly and correctly identified as an instructor at the present time



at the Faculty of Social Science.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Collins. I decline to answer on the grounds of the First and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Arens. Now, sir, I display to you a photostatic reproduction of a document that has already been identified and admitted in evidence, I believe as Exhibit No. 16, which lists the instructors of the Faculty of Social Science and persons who have been instructors at the Jefferson School of Social Science who are presently teaching at the Faculty of Social Science.

Kindly look at that document which is now displayed to you and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you recognize names there of any of the persons who are presently teaching at the Faculty of Social Science who were instructors at the Jefferson School of Social Science.

(The document was handed to the witness.)

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

(At this point Chairman Walter withdrew from the hearing room.)

Mr. Collins. The same answer; the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that each of these several exhibits which have been displayed to the witness be appropriately marked and be incorporated by

reference in the record.

Mr. Jackson (presiding). They will be so incorporated.

Mr. Arens. Now, sir, tell the committee while you are under oath if you are at this instant a hard-core member of the international conspiracy known as the Communist Party.

Mr. Collins. I don't know of the existence of any international conspiracy.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest the witness now be ordered and directed to answer the question.

Mr. Jackson. You are ordered to answer the question.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Collins. It seems to me that I have answered the question, sir.

Mr. Jackson. The Chair is not recognizing the answer in the words of the witness. The witness is directed to answer the question propounded by counsel.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Collins. I have given the answer that I understand to the question, as I understand it.

Mr. Jackson. My understanding of the question, counsel, was "Are you now a member of the Communist Party?"

Mr. Collins. I respectfully submit that that was not the form in which the question was put to me.

Mr. Jackson. Very well. Perhaps counsel could rephrase the question.

Mr. Arens. We will rephrase the question that way.

Are you now, this instant, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Collins. I decline to answer on the grounds of the Fifth Amendment.

Mr. Arens. Do you have presently information regarding the indoctrination and teaching of persons in an institution in communism by persons who, to your certain knowledge, are members of the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Collins. I decline to answer that question on the grounds of the First and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that we will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. Jackson. Mr. Scherer, have you any questions?

Mr. Scherer. Witness, you became a member of the Communist Party when you were at the City College, is that correct? Did you not?

Mr. Collins. I decline to answer that question on the grounds already given.

Mr. Scherer. And you have not been a member of the Communist Party since that time?

Mr. Collins. I decline to answer that question.

Mr. Scherer. From that time until the present, have you received since you graduated from City College, have you come across any persons who have been members of the Communist Party?

has it not?

Mr. Collins. I decline to answer on the grounds already given, on the privilege accorded me by the Fifth Amendment not to be compelled to be a witness against myself.

Mr. Scherer. Have you ever traveled abroad?

Mr. Collins. I decline to answer on the grounds of the protection afforded me by the Fifth Amendment.

Mr. Scherer. Mr. Chairman, I ask that you direct the witness to answer the question if he has ever traveled abroad. How could that possibly incriminate him?

Mr. Jackson. The witness is directed to answer the question concerning foreign travel.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Collins. I continue to decline on the same grounds as stated.

Mr. Scherer. Were you ever in the armed forces?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Collins. No, sir.

Mr. Scherer. Did you ever make an application for a passport?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Collins. No, sir.

Mr. Scherer. Have you ever used any other name than that of Harold Collins?

Mr. Collins. I decline to answer on the grounds of the

**Fifth Amendment.**

Mr. Scherer. Do you honestly believe that to tell us whether you used a name other than Harold Collins might lead to a criminal prosecution?

Mr. Collins. I have already indicated that I will not supply a link in a chain of evidence that may be produced by this committee, and I therefore decline to answer that question on the grounds already stated.

Mr. Scherer. Have you used a name other than Harold Collins in connection with any illegal activity?

Mr. Collins. I decline on the same grounds.

Mr. Scherer. I have no further questions.

Mr. Jackson. Mr. Johansen?

Mr. Johansen. No questions.

Mr. Jackson. Call your next witness.

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f1s

Rey gl  
fls Russ

Mr. Arens. The next witness will be Mr. Weise.

Come forward.

Mr. Jackson. Do you solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Weise. I do.

TESTIMONY OF MEYER WEISE,  
141-2 79TH AVENUE, FLUSHING,  
NEW YORK, (ACCOMPANIED BY HIS  
COUNSEL, DAVID REIN, WASHINGTON, D.C.)

Mr. Arens. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence and occupation.

Mr. Weise. Meyer Weise, 141-02 79th Avenue, Flushing, New York.

Mr. Arens. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. Weise. Yes.

Mr. Arens. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. Weise. Yes.

Mr. Arens. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. Rein. David Rein, 711 14th Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Arens. To accommodate us, will you spell your name?

Mr. Weise. M-e-y-e-r W-e-i-s-e.

Mr. Arens. Where are you employed, Mr. Weise?

Mr. Weise. I am at the present time employed as a salesman handling investments.

Mr. Arens. How long have you been so employed?

Mr. Weise. For the last three years.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever been connected with the faculty of Social Science in New York City?

Mr. Weise. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the Fifth Amendment.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee of your connection with the faculty of Social Science you would be supplying information that might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with his counsel)

Mr. Weise. I would say that in the context of the present situation, of how this committee works, I think it might be possible that it would be used that way, and therefore I decline on the ground of the Fifth Amendment.

Mr. Arens. Where and when were you born?

Mr. Weise. I was born in 1910 in the Ukraine.

Mr. Arens. And when did you come to the United States?

Mr. Weise. I came to the United States in 1929.

Mr. Arens. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. Weise. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. And when and where were you naturalized?

Mr. Weise. 1937, New York.

Mr. Arens. At the time you were naturalized, did you take an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic?

Mr. Weise. I believe so.

Mr. Arens. Were you at the instant you took the oath a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Weise. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the Fifth Amendment.

Mr. Arens. Now I display to you, if you please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of an article of the Communist Worker of November 16, 1958, page 15, describing some courses to be held at the faculty of Social Science, and the instructors, and the course in the new capitalism, according to this article, is Meyer Weise.

Kindly look at this document and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are truly and correctly described there as the Meyer Weise, who is the instructor at the faculty of Social Science.

(Document handed to witness, who conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Weise. I decline to answer that question under the Fifth Amendment.

Mr. Arens. Now, sir, I display to you a photostatic reproduction and announcement of the Workers School, 35 East 12th Street, New York, April 12 to July 2, 1937. It is



an announcement of the spring term of courses. There is a course listed here as Principles of Communism and Political Economy." The instructor, on Marxism-Leninism, under that, is Meyer Weise. It is described as follows:

This course will present the further development of Marxism in the epoch of imperialism. Leninism, which is the Marxism of the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolution, will give the student an understanding of the theory and tactics of the proletarian revolution," and so forth.

Kindly look at this document which I now display to you, and tell the committee while you are under oath whether or not you are truly and correctly described there as the Meyer Weise who is the instructor in the course at the Workers School.

Mr. Weise. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. What is the date you became a citizen?

Mr. Weise. 1937.

Mr. Arens. And this bulletin which I just displayed to you is 1937?

Mr. Weise, could it be that in 1937, when you were naturalized as a citizen of this Republic, you were then teaching in a Communist school?

Mr. Weise. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the Fifth Amendment.

Mr. Arens. What was your employment in 1937 when you were naturalized as a citizen of the United States?

Mr. Weise. A garment worker.

Mr. Arens. Did you have any other employment?

Mr. Weise. No. That is where I made a living.

Mr. Arens. Did you have any other occupation?

Mr. Weise. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the Fifth Amendment.

Mr. Arens. Now, I display to you, if you please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of an announcement from the Workers School, the winter term of 1943, and a number of people are listed as instructors in Marxism and Leninism, including Meyer Weise. Kindly look at this document which I now display to you and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are the Meyer Weise listed there as instructor in the Marxism-Leninism course in the Workers School in 1943.

Mr. Weise. I refuse to answer under the protection of the Fifth Amendment.

Mr. Arens. Now I display to you, if you please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of the Communist Worker of April 2, 1956, and invite your attention particularly to an article entitled, 'under Refresher Course on Capitalism, "A ten session course on highlights of Marxist capitalism will be taught by Meyer Weise in the spring term program of Jefferson School

of Social Science beginning the week of April 9."

Kindly look at this document which I display to you and tell this committee whether or not you are the Meyer Weise who taught the course at the Jefferson School of Social Science.

(Document handed to witness.)

Mr. Weise. I refuse to answer on the same grounds, the Fifth Amendment.

Mr. Arens. Now, sir, I display to you, if you please, a thermofax reproduction of a bulletin of Academy Hall, October-December 1957, listing a number of courses and a number of instructors in this course, including "Boom and Bust in the U.S. Economy, Meyer Weise."

Kindly look at this document and tell this committee whether or not while you are under oath you are truly and correctly identified as the Meyer Weise who taught the courses in Marxist theory at this training school.

(Document handed to witness)

Mr. Weise. I refuse to answer on the Fifth Amendment.

Mr. Arens. Now I display to you a photograph, a photograph of a speaker. Underneath the speaker, in the photograph, before the microphone, is the name "Meyer Weise." That photograph was taken, as we know, at a May Day celebration in Union Square, New York City, on May 2, 1956. Kindly tell this committee whether or not

that is a true and correct reproduction of your own likeness as a speaker at the May Day affair in 1956 in New York.

Mr. Weise. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

(At this point Mr. Scherer left the hearing room.)

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that each of the several documents which have been displayed to the witness be appropriately marked for incorporation in the record.

Mr. Jackson. They will be so incorporated.

Mr. Arens. Are you presently employed as a teacher at the faculty of Social Science in New York City?

Mr. Weise. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever been employed at the Jefferson School of Social Science in New York City?

Mr. Weise. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Weise. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Do you know a man by the name of Frank Meyer?

Mr. Weise. The first time I ever saw him is today.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that question be withdrawn.

Mr. Jackson. The question will be withdrawn.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. Jackson. The witness will be excused.

Call your next witness.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Irving Potash.

Mr. Jackson. You do solemnly swear the testimony you are about to give this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Potash. I do.

TESTIMONY OF IRVING POTASH, 222 WEST  
23RD STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK  
(ACCOMPANIED BY HIS COUNSEL, VICTOR  
RABINOWITZ, NEW YORK, NEW YORK.)

Mr. Arens. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence and occupation.

Mr. Potash. My name is Irving Potash. My residence is 222 West 23rd Street.

Mr. Arens. And your occupation, please, sir?

Mr. Potash. I don't believe that this investigation is legal or constitutional. I don't think the subject matter of inquiry gives the committee the right to conduct such investigation. I therefore invoke the First Amendment and the Fifth Amendment in refusing to answer the question.

Mr. Arens. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. Potash. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. Potash. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. Rabinowitz. Victor Rabinowitz, 25 Broad Street,  
New York.

Mr. Arens. When and where were you born?

Mr. Potash. In the Ukraine, in 1902.

Mr. Arens. When did you come to the United States  
for permanent residence?

Mr. Potash. 1913.

Mr. Arens. Are you a citizen of the United States?

Mr. Potash. No.

Mr. Arens. I beg your pardon?

Mr. Potash. No. You heard me. No, I said.

Mr. Jackson. Will the witness keep his voice up a little  
bit?

Mr. Arens. Will you kindly tell us when you came to the  
United States?

Mr. Potash. In 1913.

Mr. Arens. Can you tell us the principal occupations  
you have had since 1913?

Mr. Potash. I refuse to answer that question for the  
reasons I gave before. I invoke the First and the Fifth  
Amendments in that refusal.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever been convicted of a felony?

Mr. Potash. I refuse to answer that question.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever served time in a penitentiary?

Mr. Potash. I refuse to answer on the First and the Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Arens. You were one of the 11 national Communist Party leaders convicted at Foley Square in 1949 under the Smith Act, were you not?

Mr. Potash. I invoke my constitutional rights under the First and Fifth Amendments in refusing to answer.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever been deported from the United States?

Mr. Potash. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. I put it to you as a fact, sir, that in 1955 you were deported to Poland. I ask you to affirm or deny that assertion.

Mr. Potash. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Scherer. It interests me, Mr. Counsel. If he was deported, how did he get back?

Mr. Arens. That is the next question.

In 1957 did you make an illegal entry into the United States?

Mr. Potash. I refuse to answer this question on the grounds of the First and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Arens. Where were you living in December of 1956?

Mr. Potash. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Where were you in January of 1957?

Mr. Potash. The same answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. I put it to you as a fact, sir, that you were convicted and served time again in the Atlanta Federal Penitentiary on a charge of re-entering the United States illegally in 1957. If that is not the case, kindly deny it while you are under oath.

Mr. Potash. I invoke my rights under the First and Fifth Amendments and refuse to answer.

Mr. Arens. How long have you been employed at your present place of employment?

Mr. Potash. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. What was your employment immediately prior to your present employment?

Mr. Potash. I refuse to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. I display to you now, if you please, sir, a thermofax reproduction of the Communist Daily Worker of April 12, 1959, in which an announcement is made by an editorial of the opening of the spring term of the faculty of Social Science in New York City. I read to you now, if you please, sir, an excerpt from that editorial:

"Among its teachers" -- that is, of the Faculty of Social Science -- "Among its teachers are to be found such writers and educators as Herbert Aptheker, Victor Perlo, and Sidney Finkelstein as well as such labor and political leaders as Irving Potash, Louis Weinstock, and others."

Kindly look at this document I display to you and



kindly tell us whether or not, while you are under oath, you are truly and correctly identified in that editorial as one of the teachers or instructors at the faculty of Social Science.

Mr. Potash. I will not be a party to an investigation designed to persecute people for their ideas. I refuse to answer under the First and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Jackson. Mr. Counsel, let's put the record straight. This committee is not engaged in persecuting people because of their ideas. We are attempting to get at the core of a conspiratorial apparatus. That is the sole function of this.

As we go along, it seems we might make some progress. Go ahead.

Mr. Arens. Do you honestly apprehend that if you told this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are presently engaged as a teacher at the faculty of Social Science you would be supplying information that might be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with his counsel)

Mr. Arens. Would you kindly answer the question?

Mr. Potash. Yes. Under the present answer, the present context, I will say yes to the question you asked me.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Meyer, would you kindly come forward and stand here a moment?

Mr. Potash, this gentleman standing here, who is now

looking you in the face, took an oath this morning and while he was testifying he said that he was a one-time member of the Communist Party, and while he was a member of the Communist Party he knew you, sir, as a member of the Communist Party. We want to give you an opportunity now, while you are under oath, to deny that identification, to do so while you have available in your presence, looking you in the face, the man who identified you as a member of the Communist Party.

Do you care to avail yourself of that opportunity?

Mr. Potash. To my best recollection this is the first time I see this man.

Mr. Arens. Was Mr. Meyer's identification of you as a member of the Communist Party true and correct?

Mr. Potash. I refuse to answer that question under the First and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Meyer, you have been previously sworn on this record by this committee, have you not?

Mr. Meyer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Arens. Do you see in the hearing room now the person whom you identified earlier today as a person known by you to be Irving Potash, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Meyer. And of its Central Committee and of its Political Bureau.

Mr. Arens. And, sir, would you kindly point him out

to this committee, the person known by you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Meyer. The gentleman sitting in front of the microphone.

Mr. Rabinowitz. Mr. Chairman, can we ask the photographer not to take pictures? It is quite distressing.

Mr. Arens. Now, Mr. Potash, kindly tell this committee what names you have used other than the name of Irving Potash.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Potash. I refuse to answer this question on the First and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever been acquainted with Frank S. Meyer, who preceded you on the witness stand and who stood here a few moments ago and repeated his identification of you as a person known by him to be a member of the Communist Party?

(The witness conferred with his counsel)

Mr. Potash. I repeat, to the best of my recollection I -- this is the first time I see the man.

Mr. Arens. Didn't you see him at Foley Square, when he testified in the trial of the 11 Communists?

Mr. Potash. I don't remember seeing him there.

Mr. Arens. Did you know him as a member of the Communist Party at any time in your life?

Mr. Potash. To my best recollection I never knew anything about this man. I never knew him, to my best recollection.

Mr. Arens. Was he in error when he testified a little while ago that he knew you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Potash. I refuse to answer that question under the First and Fifth Amendments?

Mr. Arens. Now, sir, tell us about your travels abroad. Have you been to Red China?

Mr. Potash. In the context of this investigation, and the time, I refuse to answer this question on the ground of the First and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Arens. I display to you now, if you please, sir, a thermo-Fax reproduction of an article appearing in the Communist Daily Worker of Thursday, August 23, 1956, entitled "Irving Potash Writes from China." It says, "Note: Irving Potash, one of the 11 National Communist leaders convicted in Foley Square in 1949 under the Smith Act, who was deported in 1955 upon his release from prison, is at present touring the People's Republic of China as an observer and correspondent. Upon the completion of his trip in late September, Potash will write a series of articles on his observation of the new China. Excerpts of a letter to Eugene Dennis written by Potash shortly after

his arrival in Peking in mid-July have been made public by Dennis and appear below."

Kindly look at this article appearing in the Daily Worker and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are the author of the article or the letter appearing in the Daily Worker.

(Document handed to witness)

Mr. Potash. Considering the unconstitutional objectives of this investigation and the work of this committee, I refuse to answer this question on the ground of the First and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever received a United States passport?

Mr. Potash. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the First and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever applied for a United States passport?

Mr. Potash. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. What name have you used in your life other than the name of Irving Potash?

Mr. Potash. You asked me that question before, but I don't mind saying again I refuse to answer the question on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Now I display to you a photostatic repro-

duction of an article appearing in the Evening Star of Washington, January 5, 1957, with a photograph, "Potash seized by FBI for Illegal U.S. Re-entry". "Potash, one-time top American Communist", and the like, with a picture.

Kindly look at this article and tell the committee whether or not you are truly and correctly described there as the Irving Potash who was seized by the FBI for illegal entry.

(The witness conferred with his counsel)

Mr. Potash. I refuse to answer this question on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Now I display to you, if you please, sir, a Thermo-Fax reproduction of the Communist Daily Worker of January 7, 1957, on which a photograph appears of you, apparently taken some few years ago. You appear to be younger. "Jailed Potash following return here. " "Irving Potash, the former union leader who served a five-year term in Leavenworth Prison under the Smith Act is being held in New York because of an unauthorized re-entry into the United States."

Kindly look at that article and tell the committee whether or not the facts and circumstances described there, with reference to yourself, are true and correct.

Mr. Potash. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the First and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Arens. Now, I display to you, if you please, sir, a Thermo-Fax reproduction of The Worker of Sunday, August 31, 1958, in which a photograph appears of yourself, Irving Potash, "Released from Atlanta Penitentiary this week after serving two weeks on a charge of re-entry without permit", and so forth.

Kindly look at this article I display to you and tell the committee whether the facts stated there are true and correct to the best of your knowledge.

Mr. Potash. Under the circumstances of this investigation, I will refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the First and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Arens. Are you now an instructor on the staff of the faculty of Social Science in New York City?

Mr. Potash. I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. I say, almost with reluctance, because it is so obvious, are you now, this instant, a member of the International Conspiracy known as the Communist Party?

Mr. Potash. That is a loaded question. I don't understand it.

Mr. Jackson. Let us unload it. Are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Potash. I refuse to answer on the grounds of the First and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. Jackson. Were you in attendance, Mr. Potash, and I assume you were, as defendant during all of the trial sessions at Foley Square, New York?

Mr. Potash. Yes, I was.

Mr. Jackson. You were there at all times?

Mr. Potash. Yes.

Mr. Jackson. Mr. Scherer?

Mr. Scherer. I want to ask counsel a question.

You said this man was deported. To what country were you deported, sir?

Mr. Potash. I beg your pardon, I am sorry.

Mr. Scherer. To what country were you deported when you were deported?

Mr. Potash. I refuse to answer that question on the grounds of the First and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Scherer. What country was it, sir?

Mr. Arens. He was deported to Poland and re-entered from Poland after touring around the Communist empire.

Mr. Scherer. He was convicted for illegal entry?

Mr. Arens. Yes, sir; and he is now in the country teaching at the faculty of Social Science.

Mr. Scherer. Why is he in the country today?

Mr. Jackson. Would you tell the committee your present



status, vis-a-vis the Immigration Service?

Mr. Potash. I refuse to answer that question, sir, on the grounds of the First and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Scherer. He served his jail sentence for illegal entry, and when did he complete that jail sentence?

Mr. Arens. 1957.

Mr. Scherer. It is two years and almost three. Do we know of any action that has been taken to deport him?

Mr. Arens. I have to confess I know of none, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. Scherer. We do not know?

Mr. Bonora. Poland has turned him down, apparently. He is here. They have to find another country to accept him.

Mr. Scherer. I would like to ask the staff, Mr. Chairman, to supply that information for the record.

Mr. Jackson. If the staff will, make an effort to ascertain the present status of the witness.

Mr. Arens. We will make every effort to do so, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Scherer. Can you tell us what your present status is?

Mr. Potash. No, sir, I would not.

Mr. Jackson. The witness is excused.

I should like to call Mr. Meyer back to the stand.

Mr. Meyer, will you return to the stand?

## TESTIMONY OF FRANK S. MEYER

## Resumed

Mr. Jackson. Under the oath previously administered, we will proceed to ask just a couple of questions in light of the apparent conflict of testimony.

It is my understanding that you testified at the Foley Square trials, is that correct?

Mr. Meyer. Yes, sir.

Mr. Jackson. For how long a period of time were you on the stand?

Mr. Meyer. I, to my memory, was on several hours. It was not a full day but a good part of the day.

Mr. Jackson. You were on for several hours in giving testimony.

Is there anything further that you can add in light of the conflict of testimony which might serve to be of a assistance to the committee so far as the failure of the previous witness to have any recollection of ever having seen you before?

Mr. Meyer. I never worked in direct work with Mr. Potash in party activities, but during the years that I was in active work in the United States, from 1934 to the war he was most of that time in top party leadership, and I have seen him in large central committee meetings, I have seen him around the New York National Party office, I have

undoubtedly met him on a number of occasions personally. I have not, in actual fact, ever been involved in the direct activity he was in. He was largely in trade union work in that period. But I knew him as I knew all of the top leaders of the party. I think it is unlikely that he does not remember me at all. I was one of the top leadership of the Chicago District, one of the large districts. I was in and out of New York from time to time.

Mr. Jackson. The reasonable assumption would be that he would have knowledge of you, is that your thought?

Mr. Meyer. Yes. Not as an intimate co-worker, but in general.

Mr. Jackson. Mr. Scherer?

Mr. Scherer. When you testified in Foley Square, was your testimony or any part of it directed towards him?

Mr. Meyer. To my memory, not. I testified generally on the conspiratorial grouping and specifically on three or four of the 11. I don't believe that I said anything specifically about Mr. Potash. It is some years ago now, but that is my memory.

Mr. Jackson. Mr. Johansen?

Mr. Johansen. No questions.

Mr. Jackson. The witness is excused.

Mr. Arens. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that the exhibits that have been displayed to Mr. Potash be :

appropriately marked and incorporated into the record.

Mr. Jackson. That will be done.

The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock this afternoon.

(Whereupon, at 12:25 p.m. the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 2:00 p.m. the same day.)

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## AFTER RECESS

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2 p.m., Hon. Morgan M. Moulder presiding.)

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of reconvening: Mr. Moulder.)

Mr. Moulder (presiding). The committee will be in order. Call your first witness.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Hyman Lumer.

Mr. Moulder. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Lumer. I do.

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TESTIMONY OF HYMAN LUMER, 640 WEST 153RD STREET,  
NEW YORK, N. Y. (ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, VICTOR  
RABINOWITZ, NEW YORK, N. Y.)

Mr. Arens. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. Lumer. My name is Hyman Lumer. My residence is 640 West 153rd Street, New York.

In reference to my occupation, I shall invoke my privileges under the First and Fifth Amendments and decline to answer.

Mr. Arens. You are appearing today in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by this committee?

Mr. Lumer. Yes.

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Mr. Arens. And you are represented by counsel?

Mr. Lumer. I am.

Mr. Arens. Counsel, kindly identify yourself.

Mr. Rabinowitz. Victor Rabinowitz, 25 Broad Street, New York.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Lumer, where were you when you were served with your subpoena to appear before this committee?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

(At this point Mr. Willis entered the hearing room.)

Mr. Lumer. I shall decline to answer on the same grounds as the First and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest now the return of the United States Marshal showing service on this witness at the Seattle-Tacoma International Airport, Seattle, Washington, be incorporated by reference in this record.

Mr. Moulder. Without objection, it is so ordered.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Lumer, where and when were you born?

Mr. Lumer. I was born in Brooklyn, New York, June 29, 1909.

Mr. Arens. And give us a word about your education.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Lumer. I attended high school, college and graduate school.

Mr. Arens. Did that complete your formal education?

Mr. Lumer. Yes, it did.

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Mr. Arens. And when did you complete your work at the graduate school?

Mr. Lumer. 1935.

Mr. Arens. Where was that?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Lumer. Cleveland.

Mr. Arens. And what degree did you receive?

Mr. Lumer. PhD. degree.

Mr. Arens. And you are a doctor; is that correct?

Mr. Lumer. That is correct.

Mr. Arens. Is that a doctor of philosophy?

Mr. Lumer. That is correct.

Mr. Arens. Tell us what has been your principal occupation since you completed your course and obtained your degree of doctor of philosophy.

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Lumer. I shall decline to answer that on the grounds of the First and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Arens. Have you been engaged in any occupation since you obtained your PhD. degree concerning which you can tell this committee without revealing facts that could be used against you in a criminal proceeding?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Lumer. I shall decline to answer that on the same grounds.

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Mr. Arens. Now, sir, I display to you, if you please, a Thermo-Fax reproduction of an article appearing in the Communist Worker of July 13, 1958, and this article tells about the Communist Party parley establishing party policies and roles.

In the course of this article, the following appears:

"The National Committee approved without a dissenting vote the selection of officers of the National Committee previously elected by the NEC on authority granted to it by the February meeting, subject to later approval.

"They are Eugene Dennis, National Secretary; Robert Thompson, executive secretary; James Jackson, Negro and Southern Affairs Secretary; Hyman Lumer, Educational Director, and others."

Kindly look at this article and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are truly and accurately described there as the national educational director of the Communist Party.

Mr. Lumer. I shall decline to answer that question on the grounds of the First and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Arens. Now, sir, I display to you, if you please, a Thermo-Fax reproduction of an article appearing in the Communist publications Political Affairs. This is entitled "The American Road To Socialism." It is an article by James S. Allen for the editorial subcommittee of the draft program



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committee in which Mr. Allen states that, "The National Convention of the Communist Party, meeting in February 1957, instructed the National Committee to proceed with the preparation of a basic written program which will 'define clearly and unequivocally' the viewpoint of American Communists on all fundamental problems of the struggle for socialism in the United States," and then in the footnote are listed the members of the draft program committee, including Hyman Lumer.

Kindly tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you helped formulate the national education program in the recent past of the Communist conspiracy in the United States.

Mr. Lumer. I shall decline to answer that question on the grounds of the First and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Arens. Now, sir, I display to you, if you please, a Thermo-Fax reproduction of an article appearing in the Communist Worker of Sunday, January 11, 1958, telling about a number of courses that have been established at a new school to be operated, called the Faculty of Social Science, and in the course of this article appear a listing of the courses and the professors. One of the professors is listed here as Hyman Lumer, national education director of the Communist Party.

Kindly tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are truly and accurately described as one of the professors or instructors at the Faculty of Social Science.

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Mr. Lumer. I shall decline to answer that question on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Now, sir, I display to you, if you please, a Thermo-Fax reproduction of an article appearing in the Communist Worker of Sunday, November 30, 1956, in which Hyman Lumer is described as one of the lecturers of a Brooklyn Marxist Youth Forum to be held at Brighton Center, 3200 Coney Island Avenue.

Kindly look at this document and tell this committee while you are under oath whether or not you are accurately described as a participant in that enterprise.

Mr. Lumer. I shall decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever been an instructor at the Jefferson School of Social Science?

Mr. Lumer. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Now, sir, I would like to recite to you a compilation of factual information which has come to this committee from its investigative processes respecting your recent activities, and ask you while you are under oath now to affirm or deny them.

It is the information of this committee that on June 16, 1959, you, Hyman Lumer, educational director of the Communist Party, held a training course in New York City where nine people were present, in which you were instructing them in

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strategies and tactics and underground activities of this conspiratorial organization known as the Communist Party.

If that is not true, kindly deny it while you are under oath.

Mr. Lumer. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

(At this point Mr. Johansen entered the hearing room.)

Mr. Arens. Where were you on June 16, 1959?

Mr. Lumer. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. It is further the information of this committee, and I put it to you as a fact, that on June 20 to June 26, you held a training course in Detroit with eight people present, all hard-core, disciplined revolutionaries.

If that is not true, please deny it while you are under oath.

Mr. Lumer. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Where were you between June 20 and June 23, 1959?

Mr. Lumer. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. It is further the information of this committee that on June 27 to July 4, you held a training course in Los Angeles for hard-core revolutionaries, and that you, pursuant to directions which you have received from James Jackson, who received them from Moscow, were in Los Angeles training the revolutionaries in revolutionary techniques.

If that is not true, please deny it while you are under

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oath.

Mr. Lumer. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Where is Yablou Center in Los Angeles?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Lumer. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. I put it to you as a fact, sir, that part of the underground training that you were giving to the comrades to overthrow this government by force and violence, destroy this Constitution, this whole society of ours, in this conspiracy known as the Communist Party, were held at Yablou Center, 7213 Beverly Boulevard.

If that is not true, please deny it while under oath.

Mr. Lumer. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. In Detroit, it is the information of this committee from our investigative sources that in addition to yourself there were Carl Winter, chairman of the Michigan Communist Party, and Thomas DeWitt Dennis, Jr., as instructors, and that the places of instruction in Detroit were in the following places, shifted from day to day: The Crane Studios, the home of Waddell Clark, 2499 Sheridan, and the home of Jim Smith.

If there is any factual information, any tidbit of what I have just said, which is in the slightest degree untrue, please deny it while you are under oath.

Mr. Lumer. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

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Mr. Arens. Do you know James Jackson, Jr.?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Lumer. I decline to answer that also on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Where were you yesterday?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Lumer. I shall decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Were you yesterday enroute to Washington from Seattle where you were conducting these Communist training courses?

Mr. Lumer. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Where do you propose to go after your release from your subpoena here?

Mr. Lumer. I shall decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Do you intend to pursue your underground Communist training courses with the hard-core cadre of revolutionaries to overthrow this government by force and violence?

Mr. Lumer. I decline to answer on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Are you now, this instant, an international Communist agent with the mission of training the hard-core revolutionaries in the processes and techniques and strategies of that conspiracy to overthrow this government by force and

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violence?

(The witness conferred with his counsel.)

Mr. Lumer. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. Moulder. Would you care to repeat the grounds that you decline to answer on?

Mr. Lumer. The first and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Arens. How long have you been engaged in your present occupation?

Mr. Lumer. I shall decline to answer that on the grounds of the First and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever changed your name?

Mr. Lumer. I shall decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Have you ever changed your facial identifications?

Mr. Lumer. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. I put it to you as a fact, sir, that in the recent past you have been deep in the underground of this conspiratorial apparatus, you did change your name, you did change your facial identifications so that you could, you thought, avoid detection.

Mr. Lumer. I shall decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Do you presently have information which you are possessed with now respecting current activities of the

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Communist conspiracy in the training of the hard-core cadre, the techniques of infiltration, penetration, sabotage and subversion?

Mr. Luner. I decline to answer that also on the grounds of the First and Fifth Amendments.

Mr. Arens. I put it to you as a fact, sir, that you are now, this instant, one of the leaders of the underground movement of the Communist Party and that you are engaged now, full-time, except for this interlude when you are appearing before this committee, as an instructor of the hard-core of the Communist conspiracy.

If that is not true, deny it while you are under oath.

Mr. Luner. I decline to answer that on the same grounds.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. Moulder. All of the documents referred to by counsel and submitted by counsel to the witness will be admitted into evidence and made a part of the record.

(The documents referred to follow:)

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Mr. Moulder. Any questions, Mr. Willis?

Mr. Willis. No questions.

Mr. Moulder. Mr. Johansen?

Mr. Johansen. No questions.

Mr. Moulder. The witness is excused.

Mr. Arens. Mr. Chairman, that will conclude the witnesses for this afternoon, and I respectfully suggest that you announce a recess until ten o'clock tomorrow morning, when we will proceed with other witnesses.

Mr. Moulder. The committee will stand in recess until ten o'clock tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 2:25 p.m. the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 10 a.m., Wednesday, July 22, 1959.)

(Members of the subcommittee present at time of recess: Messrs. Moulder, Willis, Johansen.)